2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

121	F. Patrilineal clan	(exogamous; widespread)
	G. Phratry	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; widespread)
	H. Moiety	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	I. Badaga community	(generally endogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	J. Fourteen *kolas* or septs	(exogamous; in popular belief, South- India-wide)

THE JOINT PATRILOCAL FAMILY

•592 [611] [591] [591] [591] [342] [362] [428] [136] [362] [593]

The Badaga family is always patrilineal and nearly always patrilocal. Because of the power it wields a joint family is the ideal and every third generation typically passes through this desired state. Thus a young couple establish a new home in the village of the groom's father. Their children, if male, should remain in the same house with their parents, or be married into another village if female. Then the young men take brides from villages of affines, bring them to the parental home and raise their children there. At this juncture there would be three generations living under the same roof: (1) unmarried grandchildren, (2) unmarried daughters, married sons and their wives, (3) the parents. On the death of the founding father the brothers are expected to leave his house and establish separate homes. The dispersal of the household has three causes—architectural, legal, and psychological. The first is that Badaga houses have only two or three fairly small rooms and by the time that three generations, two of them with spouses, are occupying one house there is an acute shortage of space—a situation which may be aggravated by polygyny. The legal cause of dispersal is ultimogeniture: Badaga law requires that the youngest son inherit his father's house and at the same time take care of the widowed mother (Rivers, 1906, 559-560). Financial provision should be made for all older brothers to build separate houses. The psychological causes are the total lack of privacy and the elder brothers' uneasy feeling of indebtedness to the youngest brother who legitimately owns the house. A further complication is that in recent years one brother working in an office has become

increasingly loath to share a relatively high income with his extended family. Thus large joint families are no longer as common as they were half a century ago: an average Badaga household today contains only 5.5 members, and the range in size is from one to perhaps twenty.

LINEAGE

Several joint families able to agree on precisely how they are descended from a common male ancestor consider themselves a *minimal* or a *minor lineage* (in Baḍagu, *guppu)*. This is an exogamous and patrilineal group living in a single village and is the most important lineage for members, often the only one they know by name. It tends to split into two lineages every four or five generations. The *guppu* is a unit within which interest-free loans are obtained and which even today has a buffalo herd in common. It no longer holds land in common, though at its inception the joint family of the founder did, and each descendant is still entitled to a proportion of his land. This lineage tends to hold family ceremonies together. If further participants are wanted at such ceremonies the remainder of the *major lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kutti)* can be invited. This consists of at least two minor lineages the leaders of which can trace their ancestry back to a common founder. Very often the major lineages in one or several neighbouring villages summate to a *maximal lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kuḍumbu)* and responsible members can trace their actual descent from its founder, too. All levels of lineage can be referred to by a founder's name, though in many villages no more than one level is now recognized. Lineages of all levels may be invited to attend family ceremonies.

From the example in Diagram 6 it can be seen that a maximal lineage has a depth of about seven generations. As at O:ranayi the maximal lineage is very often coterminous with the village, which explains the exogamy of most villages. There are, however, some exceptional villages, notably those of the Wodeas and Toreas, and of the Gaudas of So:lu:ru commune and Ha:sanu:ru, which contain several distinct lineages from *different* clans within each village; so that while exogamy still marks the lineage it is not characteristic of the villages.

There is a strong sense of lineage solidarity, strongest at the minor level but still significant at the maximal. In case of a dispute

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

the great majority still are today. For them the family has always been the basic unit of production. As much as five months of the year are spent non-productively (Ranga, 1934, 9–10), but during the other months every member of the family, even a child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy. Adults work in the fields and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Harkness, 1832, 114–115). Men do the heavier work, such as forking, ploughing or clearing stones, and women the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward, 1821, lxx, lxxiii; Jagor, 1876, 201–202: Ranga, 1934, 8; Noble, 1968, 143–148). As well as their field-work women are responsible for cooking and for all the housekeeping, including the laundry.[25] Adolescent boys work as cowherds; girls take care of babies whose mothers are in the fields (Harkness, 1832, 113). Children also do the initial preparation of meals before the women return home each day. People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village (Jagor, 1876, 194).

This pattern has been modified somewhat by a trend among the more educated men to work away from the village. At first a few were employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and labourers, and throughout the district as primary school teachers.[26] During the First World War some young men began working in the munitions factory near Wellington (it still employs many Badagas). Then, in the 1920s, the first Badagas attended university and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians—M.P.s and M.L.A.s—many of whom are from one extended family whose fortune was initially established by labour contraction (see Diagram 9, p. 179). More numerous today are the doctors and lawyers. Other Badagas who though less well-educated no longer follow their traditional occupation include school-teachers, government officials, bus drivers, contractors and factory workers.

A correlate of this move towards the towns has been the breakdown of customary labouring methods. There were two kinds of cooperative labour: in one a number of families (usually from one lineage) would pool their labour to farm an area and then would divide up the produce proportionately; in the other, several families would work for a particular farmer but have no share in his produce: he in turn would help them with their cultivation. For

231 Nearly every
592 family owns a few buffaloes, and the more affluent also have good European breeds of cow. Until the Second World War it was normal for buffaloes and oxen to be
178 used in plowing; but in recent years the fragmentation of land holdings and the
492 terracing of slopes have made the plow superfluous, as such small plots can only be worked by manual labor (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

178 The shortage of farmland during the present century has caused some
463 Badagas to look to other occupations. Today there are several hundred college graduates employed in law, medicine, education and government. Such people usually work in the towns, and preferably in the Nilgiris; but wherever possible they continue to live in their natal villages.

184 The Badagas embrace four quite distinguishable sub-cultures. These can be identified as:

1) The (non-Lingayat) Śaivites, who form about 90 percent of the entire community;

2) The Lingayats, a small but influential minority;

3) The Christian converts, who are considered Badagas in a court of law but regard themselves as separate from, and are treated as a distinct and inferior caste by, the other Badagas;

4) The Wynaad Gaudas, a peripheral minority of Badagas who have lived for two or three centuries in eight widely separated villages of the Wynaad Plateau, and are now culturally closer to the Wynaad Chettis than to the Hill Badagas. We shall not be concerned with them in this study.

(101)

615 Apart from these distinctions, the Hill Badagas (nos. 1 and 2 in the above list) divided into a number of jati-like social groups -- we are calling them

for the real widower to marry a girl capable of adding a number of sons to the family. Thus, provided the previous wife's funeral has been handled in this manner, it is considered ethical for the widower to marry a putative virgin from another family of the gentry.

Generally all of the headmen and headmen's regular assistants belong to the gentry; and during the last century the British officials normally appointed their managers and karnams (i.e. headmen and accountants) from among the gentry too (Grigg 1880: 366).

In keeping with the image of his greater honor, wisdom and prestige, a member of the gentry receives rather different treatment than an ordinary man at the hands of the Badaga judicial council. Traditional Badaga law holds the individual responsible for his acts, and treats him as the offender if he is found guilty of some crime. Among the gentry, on the other hand, the head of the family is responsible for the acts of all members of his family even though he may know nothing about them. This was vividly illustrated by a case in 1963, which I will quote from my field-notes.

"Belli is the traditional headman of a Badaga hamlet and, as he is the eldest of several brothers, he is also head of his family, which is considered a gentry family. One day he met his friend Lingan, a prominent elder from the neighboring hamlet. They were on a footpath in the fields belonging to Lingan's people. Without any prior explanation or greeting, Lingan abused Belli roundly for his despicable behavior. Belli was taken aback, and questioned him about the meaning of this outburst. He thus learned that one of his brothers had just kicked a Tamilian boy employed by the neighboring hamlet to look after their cattle. Normally Lingan would not have concerned himself with a minor hurt done to a non-Badaga in his hamlet; but in this case, because the boy was employed by the hamlet

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(556) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do so might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(558) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
554 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (e.g. divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

Employment

463 Prior to 1913 all Badagas were primarily agriculturists; for the great ma-
•592 jority of the people this is still true today. Although as much as five months of the farming year is spent non-productively (Ranga 1934: 9-10), every member of the family, even the child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy.
241 Adults work in the fields, and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Hark-
462 ness 1832: 114-15). Men do the heavier work, such as forking or plowing, and women do the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward 1821:
241 lxx, lxxiii; Ranga 1934: 8). Adolescents work as cowherds, and girls also take
883 care of small babies while the mothers are out in the fields (Harkness 1832: 113).
857 Children also do the preliminary work of cooking before the women return home
462 each day. As well as field-work, women do the main part of the cooking and are responsible for all of the house-keeping, including the laundry (Jagor 1876: 201-02).
887 People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village during the day-time (Jagor 1876: 194).

178 This pattern has been modified somewhat by the trend among the more
463 educated Badagas to work away from the village. At first a few Badagas were being employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and laborers, and throughout the District as teachers (Thurston 1909: I, 63; Ranga 1934: 8; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 248). During the First World War some young men worked in a muni-
(571) tions factory at Wellington. Then, in the 1920's, the first Badagas attended col-
(550) leges and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians, M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s, nearly all of them coming from one family. More numerous are the doctors and lawyers. Other less well-educated Badagas who no longer follow their tradi-

691 692 the other hand there are two factors which militate against the loser going to a magistrate with his case: one is the cost of a solicitor and of bribing various petty officials; the other is the common knowledge that the previous decision of the village council can be brought forward as evidence in court, whereupon in something like "98% of cases" (in the estimate of one experienced informant) the magistrate will simply hand down exactly the same decision as the village council's.

An alternative route for appeal against a decision is the hierarchy of traditional councils. Although this is normally less expensive, it is being followed less often now than before the Second World War. As disenchanted litigants use the magistrate's court more and more frequently, the power of enforcing its decisions that rested with the traditional hierarchy of councils is proportionately sapped.

Badaga litigants, we have suggested, find themselves in what can be called an "ambi-legal" situation. A case taken from my field-notes may help illustrate how the individual may nowadays manage to manipulate the two judicial systems so as to disadvantage an opponent. (This case remains unsettled; all names are fictitious.)

159 685 691 (592) (423) "Two brothers, Kallan and Jogi, lived together with their wives and children as a joint family and, as was the custom, also held their land in joint ownership, but each farmed as much of it as he wanted to. In 1948 Kallan, the elder brother, died leaving his two young children and wife in the care of Jogi. One of these children was a daughter, who would leave the family at marriage and would not be entitled, under Badaga law, to any inheritance from her dead father. But Ranga, the dead man's son, would in time become a man and would then demand a half of the entire joint family's estate. Jogi knew this very well, for he could

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AWSO Badaga AWSO

121 In summary, the towns of the Nilgiris have been instrumental in inducing recent social and economic changes. Towns do act as focal points for the dissemination of "modern" ideas and values, which reach the villagers either through intermediary people or through the mass communication media. Such ideas and values are not always fully accepted by the community, but they are undoubtedly of great influence, especially upon the younger, more educated men.

(2) The second regularity to be discussed in this conclusion is that major shifts in the economic activity are generally followed by changes in the family organization. It is paradoxical that Lambert's study (1963) stresses how little change there has been in the family organization; because in the case of the Badagas the changes in family structure have already gone far. Lambert's data do not distinguish between nuclear and joint families, as ours do; but he does state that factory workers support households with a higher number of dependents (the mean was 5.2 members per worker's family) than was to be found in the general population of Poona (with a mean of 4.5 members) (Lambert 1963: 39). He postulates that the relatively high earning power of factory workers attracts related dependents to their homes, people who are not members of the nuclear family. This situation is probably confined to a factory-worker class in the context of a city; it is not reflected at all in the material available for the Badagas. These people illustrate a trend, seemingly widespread in developing countries, in which the younger, more educated and urbanized men often prefer to set up their own homes and live as a nuclear family, rather than stay with the traditional joint family. The Badagas themselves recognize this trend, and explain it in terms of the changed values that have come with educational and economic betterment. In a survey of 420 Badagas, I found that 50.2% were living in nuclear families (some lacking either a spouse or children); whereas

178 •S92 (829)

178 for the same sample 22.4% were members of various types of joint family, and
•592 another 2.1% were in polygamous families. The joint family, be it noted, is the traditional and "ideal" type, but in all likelihood it has never been the only pattern. The sharing of differential profits is only a part of the problem that confronts a contemporary Badaga joint household where some adult members have high earning-power and other adults low. More important is the conflict of values, the difference between traditional Badaga attitudes and "modern", urban attitudes, that now separates parents from their more educated adult sons. The new occupations which have been taken up, primarily by the younger men, are thus related to distinct changes in Badaga family organization, as the Badagas themselves can readily explain.

121 (3) A third main regularity in economic change is that the introduction of cash crops and the use of money tend to break down the traditional cooperative work patterns in a rural economy like that of the Badagas. The phenomenon has been documented in many different parts of the world (cf. Foster 1962: 34-35), and was noted by Epstein in the "dry" village of southern Mysore. We have already taken notice of this point above (pp. 134-35): the Badagas have dropped their former ties with Kotas and other associates, as a part of their adaptation to conditions in the cash economy. But what have the Kotas done in response? As Badaga farmers now need hired labor, it might be expected that Kotas would have hired themselves out for cash; but this has not been the case. Kotas own sufficient land to grow most of their food requirements; indeed, they were never entirely dependent on grain given them by the Badagas. Some Kota craftsmen have modified the traditional relationship with Badagas to a point where they still deal with the Badaga hamlets that they have always been associated with, but now services must immediately be paid for in cash. Badagas no longer grow the millets that they used to give to the Kotas;

ridges constructed in the same plots are planted with broad beans (Vicia faba L.) or peas. Kitchen gardens are typically better manured and cared for. Because they are nearer to community cattle-pens and livestock huts, more manure is likely to be placed on them. Due to the absence of toilets in houses, community dwellers naturally defecate more frequently on nearby plots. And lastly, women recurrently spread kitchen ashes or trash over kitchen gardens. When family members have time to spare, they may easily care for kitchen garden plots near the communities in which they live. Women work on them between their household duties, and men who are regularly employed work on them during off duty hours.

Shifting agriculture. In 1800 the Badagas were practicing shifting slash-burn (kottukadu) agriculture (Buchanan 1870, 1: 462). As later writers described Badaga hamlets and villages in terms of permanence, it is conjectured that Badagas then dwelt in permanent communities and cultivated different plots on the nearby countryside from year to year. From the time Englishmen started to administer the Nilgiris until the late 1800s, the bhurty revenue system existed over the upper Nilgiris. Under this system a farmer could hold up to ten times the taxed land he actually cultivated in any single year. Therefore, a man who paid taxes on five acres could hold nine other five-acre plots scattered over the upper Nilgiris. Plot alternation accompanied by the necessary clearance of vegetation off fallowed land not cultivated for years, or off newly claimed forest land, formed a system of shifting agriculture. Another system was followed in the western Kundahs, which

243 placed in small heaps, and burned when dry. Plows used in soil preparation were of a general type presently used in southern India. Some [407] doubtlessly had a metal strip attached to the share, but Ouchterlony [175] (1848: 31) stated that the share was "almost invariably a piece of pointed wood, of a tough description, hardened in the fire, and not shod with iron, or any other metal." Plowing was performed by two [492] methods. In the first, a lead team of yoked cattle drawing a plow was followed by five or six similar teams drawing plows. After plows scraped a single furrow, paralleled furrows were formed by forcing the [492] cattle to pull plows in lines paralleling the first. When the other method was used, a single team of yoked cattle pulled a plow over a field as many as five times. During each replowing, furrows were [462] crossed. After the men had finished the plowing, women and children [857] with small hoes worked over the soil, broke up clods, removed weeds, and piled them in small heaps. After the weeds were burned, the ashes were scattered over the ground. Cattle manure from cattle pens was mixed with community trash, loaded into baskets, and carried to fields. After being broadcast, the fertilizer was worked into the soil through another plowing or with hoes. Men broadcast seeds, or planted seeds, plants, and seed potatoes (later 1800s) in rows. Sown seeds were covered by a last plowing or light hoeing. Women and children usually weeded the fields two or more times. To speed this process up, rows [592] of weeders sometimes worked cooperatively. Harvesting was performed [412] by all family members, and sickles were the main harvesting implements. Bundles of straw with grain or baskets loaded with grain heads were carried as head loads to threshing floors. Temporary threshing floors

244 period (Figure 15).

412 In present dry field crop production land occasionally remains unterraced, but is more often shallowly terraced. Many farmers are

241 now, by requirement of the Madras Government, hewing out slopes to

(650) form horizontal croplands on tiered terraces (Plate X, C). Dry fields frequently remain unenclosed. When land left in fallow for some time is again to be cultivated, vegetation will first be removed and burned in small piles.

In preparing ground for potatoes, men turn the soil with digging

244 forks. After about two or three weeks, clods are broken by women and

(462) children. Both blunt and forked sides of hoe-forks are used in this

(857) task. Undesirable stones and weeds are removed at the same time. Stones are utilized in terrace or wall construction, and ashes from weeds burned in piles are scattered over the land. Manure and compost brought in by women, bullock carts, or trucks are scattered over the

(435) soil. Badagas sometimes purchased buffalo-dung from the Todas. After fertilizer has been worked into the soil with hoes or hoe-forks, paralleled potato ridges are constructed with similar implements. As this is a hard task, men often assist. Men, women, and children do the planting. A small amount of chemical fertilizer is included with each seed potato. At least two weedings are carried out through use

(462) of smaller hoes, hoe-forks, and small weeding-hoes. Women and children

(857) usually perform this task, and at the same time they mound the ridges. The first mounding aids in keeping spreading roots covered, and the

(592) second helps protect the plant bases from strong monsoon winds. Most

(251) family members work during the busy harvest season. After tubers dug

who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruḷa tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kuḍumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

As in any society, the family among the Badagas does not show one kind of structure only. A sample of 420 Badagas of both sexes, in 1963, revealed the range of households indicated in Table 5. I equate "family" with "household" here because among Badagas the residential unit is equally a commensal unit of a kind that is always recognized to be a family. What this table emphasizes is that only about 15% of Badaga households are joint families, and only about 3% are polygynous, even though both of these types are acceptable, and indeed the former is considered the ideal. It is an ideal which cannot however be realised continuously over a long period of time. There is a natural cycle of growth, florescence, and decline in the Badaga family, a cycle whose stages are approximately the same as the sequence of the first eight household types listed in Table 5. Once a household contains several brothers with their wives and children, it usually becomes necessary for them to split up into a number of nuclear families occupying different homes because there is no longer enough physical space and cooking facilities for all of them in what is typically a three-roomed house. It is noteworthy that in 1963 only 4.3% of the respondents belonged to a full joint family in which both of the grandparents were still living. This fact should be viewed against the backdrop of Table 1, which indicates that 19% of the male sample had more than one owned house available to them. Where alternative housing is available within the family the joint residential unit, no longer a necessity, may cease to seem so virtuous or practicable to its members either.

TABLE 5

Badaga Household Structure

	Respondents' households
Nuclear family:	
Living alone, or with spouse	45.2%
Couple with children	19.8%
Mother with unmarried children	0.7%
Father with unmarried children	13.3%
Sub-Total:	79.0%
Joint family:	
Parents, sons, their wives and children	4.3%
Mother, sons, their wives and children	5.5%
Father, sons, their wives and children	3.6%
Several siblings with spouses and their children	2.1%
Sub-Total:	15.5%
Polygynous family:	2.9%
Other, supplemented nuclear or joint families:	2.6%
	(*N*=420)

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW30 Badaga AW30

592 The situation among Badaga joint families is one in which these families break up early, typically as soon as the patriarch has died. It accords well with the all-India picture that Kolenda (1967: 172-180) has offered, wherein joint families that break up quickly are a phenomenon that is correlated with a high incidence of divorce and the custom of paying bridewealth: both are characteristic of Badaga society. From Table 5 it can be seen that, while 13.4% of respondents were living in joint families with one or both parents still alive in 1963, only 2.1% were then living in joint families consisting of several brothers with their wives and children. Clearly this latter residential pattern at the present time represents a difficult compromise with an ideal that is traditional but hardly still viable. Younger Badaga men now prefer to live in nuclear units, and to develop their careers or farming pursuits independently of their brothers. In that way income differentials and the sharing of a common household kitty will not have the potential for generating quarrels within the joint family that they did. The family that pays together, stays together—unwillingly though.

(518)
(516)

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